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position of stepmother to these youngsters.[1] Her very closeness to her sister, the fact that these girls have played and worked together since childhood, establishes her interest in the development of her sister's children. The chances are that she will perform protective ceremonies for them, that she will give them food and presents, that they will be frequent visitors in her home, and that she will offer them economic assistance in times of need.

At the puberty rite of her sister's daughter, she will give generously of her labor and provisions. When her niece is about to marry, she will doubtless act as one of the group of relatives who passes on the desirability of the union; she will help erect the dwelling to which the husband will be brought; and she may furnish household necessities. When her nephew marries, her household will contribute to the gifts to be presented to his bride's relatives. The degree to which she participates in the instruction of her sister's children will vary with her own proficiency. If she knows a great deal about the medicinal value of plants, it is quite likely that she will transmit that information to her sister's daughter as well as to her own girls.

Somewhat different are the relations between the child and the mother's brother, for he resides with the extended domestic family only until he marries. If he is considerably younger than the mother, he may be around during the entire childhood of the individual; if he is older or near her age, he may depart while the child is yet very young. But even after he leaves the encampment through marriage, he frequently visits his parental home. At first, to his wife's relatives, he is a stranger and an unproved acquisition. He is bound to many of them by obligations of avoidance, restraint, and economic assistance, but the warmer bonds of kinship and prolonged common residence are lacking. Therefore, until he has children of his own and his status among his wife's relatives is established, he is likely to keep in closest touch with his own blood kin. There is a good deal of restraint

[1] When a woman marries her deceased sister's husband or becomes her sister's co-wife, the stepmother term may be used as a self-reciprocal between her sister's children and herself, or the mother's sister term may be continued. The first is the more common practice.

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The domestic intruder receives mention:

He asks me what happened
To his wife!

For the young people who are planning an assignation, a song has this reminder:

Wait for me
At the high bluff over there.

One song has to do with those who have become acquainted at the feast and soon must separate:

You will go back to your distant home;
We will be lonesome.

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At midnight, often at the time when the second social dance of the evening is about to get under way, food is again served. I have called the second dance of the night the "partner" dance:

After the circle dance, the men get in a group by the fire and the women go around and choose partners. A woman pulls at a man's clothes or pokes him if she wants him for a partner. Then he has to dance.

It's a general rule that the man has to pay the woman something if he dances with her. He pays after the four nights. If you haven't got anything, you tell the woman the first night so she can choose someone else. It is understood that if you dance with a woman you have something for her. It's not that you have to pay if you dance, but it's just too bad if you don't. Everybody talks about you. The girl will tell everyone. She will say, "That man is no good; he didn't pay." All the girls will say this then.

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The girl dances with the same man for the four nights. It is right then that they fall in love. A girl chooses a boy she likes. I got acquainted with my wife this way. I danced with her. That's what these dances are mostly for.

[584]

To execute the partner dance, a man and woman remain in the same line but face in opposite directions. The man's left arm is opposite the woman's left arm, or his right arm is opposite her right arm. The couples, who are scattered here and there, dance forth and back in relation to the fire, about four steps one way and then four the other. Occasionally, two women tap the same man and then he must dance with both and must finally pay both.

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Blood kin and affinal relatives, including husband and wife, may not dance together. "You have to be sure you are not related.

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Courtship, elopement, and ideals of beauty.—Only shortsighted parents fail to plan and guide their daughter's future properly, for, with matrilocal residence in force, an undisciplined daughter or an improvident son-in-law may well be their ruin as they grow older and more dependent on the younger workers. Parents and close relatives owe a girl affection, the necessities of life, protection from natural and supernatural enemies, and proper training during her formative years. In return they expect gratitude from her for the sacrifices they have made, obedience, and stable conduct.

Unmarried girls are carefully guarded by their relatives:

They are pretty strict with girls after the puberty ceremony and before marriage. The girls are made to cook and sew. The mother, father, or brother attends them to or from a dance. Unmarried women, if young, are not allowed at a tiswin party.

In the words of another informant:

The girl was watched carefully by her folks. Because of this it was necessary to have someone approach the parents and speak for you if you wanted to marry a girl. It was almost impossible to court a girl. Men had to do it on the sly.

From this statement we see the strategic advantage to the parents of premarital control over their daughters. It brings suitors or their representatives directly to them, allowing them to choose their sons-in-law and to fix the terms of the agreement.

The same degree of supervision is not exercised over the son:

They are very strict with the girls. The girls are given general information by parents and relatives. The girls have attendants when they go to dances and they are watched in the home too. The parents are not so strict with the boys. The boys are given more freedom.

The absence of any approved period of courtship is emphasized in the account of a father who advised his daughter "not to go around with any man until she was married." An able informant summed up the matter by saying: "There is not much courtship. Marriage is usually arranged. The young people do not have much to say about it. The boy has the best of it. If he sees a girl he likes, he will go to his father and tell him."

Though no period of open courtship is institutionalized, there are ways for young people who are attracted to each other to meet:

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584 In the old days it was considered shameful to go openly with a girl. If a man liked a girl, he would try to put himself in her way as much as possible without attracting notice. He would try to get to every social dance that she went to. That was the Chiricahua substitute for taking a girl out. It gave the young people a chance to meet. It gave the girl a chance to show whom she liked. If a girl chose the same man for a partner many times, you could be sure that that couple might get married. If a boy liked a girl and she showed him attention in this way, he might go to his father or his uncle or some other close relative and ask if he would try to arrange a marriage. Sometimes the boy would be turned down and sometimes not; he never knew.

D. is going through this stage now. He is in love with S.'s daughter. . . . . He doesn't do anything. He just goes to the store when he thinks she'll be there. He gets in a word or two. Then he goes one way and she goes another. He'll be watching every few minutes from the other side of the canyon. Pretty soon she'll come for water. He will be watching and will come to the place by a roundabout way, timing it to get there while she's there. Then he'll get in a couple of more words. Later she'll find some excuse to go off somewhere where he is, and so on.

Many understandings are reached following a military triumph. This is the time when spirits are high and when young men have won a stake which permits them to join the ranks of the suitors. "The Chiricahua turned their victories into a celebration, a dancing and marrying time. Lots of young men took advantage of the occasion."

583 602 The etiquette regulating the conduct of the married man and his wife's relatives makes elopement almost an impossibility. When it occurs, the affront to the girl's family is so serious that the offending couple is forced to live in isolation unless forgiveness and approval can be secured. "There are few cases of elopement. A girl who is not trained right might elope. Usually the couple doesn't come back to the girl's folks to live then but makes a camp apart."

832 826 But, even though their parents and relatives have much to say about the choice of a mate, the young people have their own standards of beauty and desirability and their own ways of influencing the issue. Concerning the physical traits in a girl which excite most admiration, and those which are least well considered, the following pronouncement is typical:

Girls with big lips, or a big nose, or with skin too dark; who are stooped or have big feet; who have a Roman nose or one too wide, or who have too long a

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MARRIAGE ARRANGEMENTS, MARRIAGE, AND RESIDENCE

582 Most marriages are arranged in terms of a conventional [584] pattern in which the wishes of the families involved carry much weight. The early completion of the girl's training, the need of the encampment for additional young men, and the disapproval of premarital sex experience for women are all factors contributing to the tendency for girls to marry young. Therefore, "the [881] girl is allowed to marry by Chiricahua rule after her ceremony, after her first menstruation."[1]

881 At the time of puberty the girl is given the advice necessary 864 to guide her actions in caring for herself at the time of menstruation and in regulating her relations with men:

> They tell the girls how to keep clean during menstruation. There are no restrictions on a woman at this time; she can eat any food and she can go around. But the girls are told to wear their old clothes during menstruation and that they [841] must not leave them around. They are shown how to wear something like a loincloth with a pad at this time. The girls are also reminded of the effect of menstrual blood on men. They are told that it makes men paralyzed and deformed, [492] unable to straighten their arms or legs. The girls are also told that they can ride mares but not male horses during menstruation.

881 And they tell a girl that she must stay pure until her marriage, that virginity 867 is expected of a woman who has not been married before. They tell her that a 836 man might leave a woman who is not a virgin, that the maidenhead is the sign of 581 virginity, and if a woman is not proved a virgin by this means at marriage, a man would get angry and the marriage would be broken up.

581 The young man cannot look forward to so early a marriage, [582] for he must first prove his ability to provide for and defend a family by participating in the four raiding parties.

Marriage is considered less a romantic venture than a solid economic arrangement, though personal and individual values are by no means totally eliminated:

> Many of the old people think of marriage from the economic side. They advise a man to marry and have a home because they figure that the man will then be serious, will provide for his family, and get ahead. On the other hand, you can't disregard physical love either. Whether or not the old people think of this, the young ones do. I often hear people remarking that some boy has married just for love and wasn't sensible enough to take a girl who was a good worker and

[178] [1] Some informants deny this and even complain that "the girls marry too young today," but the evidence of former early marriage is conclusive.

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could provide a real home for him. Often they talk of foolish young people who don't think of practical things when they marry. 581

Sometimes the parents of the boy and girl arrange the match and only tell the principals when all arrangements are made. If a man is industrious, he has more chance to get a match, and the same is true for the girls. Some very ugly Indian men have gotten beautiful girls, not because the girls wanted them, but because the parents of the girl recognized their industry and insisted on the marriage. Old men who are rich sometimes marry very young girls in this way. 581 584

Often the prospective husband thoughtfully contemplates not only the young lady but the affinities to whom he will be so closely bound if he marries her:

Before marriage a man looks at the parents of the girl, at her industry, sees how strong and able to bear children she is, how congenial and sweet she is, and he decides on these grounds. Beauty of face is of little account. Industriousness is most important probably, but if a woman is mean and cranky a man would never have her, even if she was a good worker.

As might be expected from the important part that settled elders play in marriage arrangements, the decisions arrived at do not always conform to the wishes of the young people:

In one way of arranging it, the children are just matched up by the parents and relatives when they reach marriageable age. The two families might be friendly. When they tell the girl, sometimes she may not want to marry the man chosen for her. Sometimes they appeal to her or otherwise influence her against her will. As for the boy, maybe he knows the girl, maybe not. Perhaps he has never spoken to her but has seen her only at a distance.

It's not so easy as we've been making out. Sometimes a girl will run off rather than marry a man. Some girls are forced into marriage.

Girls are married to men many years older than they are sometimes, because their parents match them to wealthy persons. And some younger men marry rich widows. I notice that the older person is inclined to be very jealous in these cases. [587]

This does not mean that true love matches are unknown, but such unions receive scant sympathy, especially when they turn out badly: 581

F. is a good example of a woman who went crazy over a man and still is that way. She can take more abuse than any woman I ever saw. Her husband has never done any work and never will. There's no chance of his making good. But she married him. Look how he has treated her! But she is wild about him right now. If it wasn't for her family, she'd be back with him now.

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584 Though the parents and close relatives of young people are eager to have them confortably married and united to a family of standing, they are ordinarily willing to listen to any sensible conjugal plans which their charges may have. "After all, the final decision is usually left to the young people. They can be persuaded, but they can't be forced as a general thing. Such marriages do not last." And the young people, knowing their stake and place in the marriage arrangements, are not hesitant about indicating their preferences. The young man may be emboldened to ask a girl how seriously concerned about him she is. He may hint that if she will encourage such a move he will request his relatives to approach her parents about the matter. "Often the boy will tell his father or some other relative which girl he likes. He works through the family. He tells his father or his uncle to go to the girl's father and ask for her." Meanwhile the girl has revealed her affection for the young man to her mother or some other close relative and has paved the way for the reception of a representative of the suitor.

Theoretically, the young man's family is expected to take the initiative and approach the girl's relatives. In a good many cases, however, the relatives of a marriageable girl take a far from passive role:

> She was a fine-looking girl. Her mother sent word to me by the girl's stepfather. "Any time you get ready you can marry my girl," she said. My intention was not to do it, but I gave no answer one way or another. A second time she sent word to me by the same man, saying, "I'll give you this girl. Why don't you say something about it?" My friend, a relative of the girl, said, "Why don't you marry that girl? Then we'll be together all the time."
>
> They moved camp close to me. I was called over there by the stepfather. They had something to drink. They all got to feeling good. Then the mother asked me for the third time. She pointed to me and said, "You, I want you for my son-in-law. I want you to have my daughter."
>
> I had never known the girl. She was good-looking and a good worker. But I didn't know whether she cared for me or would love me all of her life. I couldn't go just by what her mother said. I was drunk and not bashful. I told the old lady right to her face, "I have never at any time spoken to your daughter. I don't know whether she would care for me. By forcing her this way I don't think we'd have a home together very long. I'd rather get acquainted with a girl. I don't care what kind of looking girl she is as long as she gets on well with me."

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The old lady answered me, "I'm the one who raised her. She's going to marry the man I want her to or she won't marry. You're the only man I want to have for my son-in-law." So the girl didn't have any chance to choose her own husband. 584 •

In another account the first move leading to the marriage of the narrator was taken by the grandmother of a girl whose parents were dead:

I went to her place that night. I had heard that the old lady had some tiswin. When I got there she told me to have a drink. As we talked she told me that I was single and needed a wife. She mentioned this girl and said it was worth two horses to get her. I had never seen the girl before. When I got home I started to think about it seriously. I talked it over with my relatives. An uncle of mine gave me a mule, and a cousin gave me a horse.

The next day I went to the home of a certain woman, a middle-aged woman. She was eating when I arrived. I called her outside and hired her to speak for me to this girl's grandmother. This woman lived just on the other side of a stream from the girl and her grandmother. The next day my go-between went to the old woman and asked her to give me the girl. The old woman demanded two good horses. My go-between thanked the grandmother and came to tell me what had been said. I gave her the horse and the mule to lead to the old woman, and the next day I went to the girl. [583]

But regardless of the direction from which the first overture comes, it is the young man or his representative who must lodge a formal request with the girl's kin for consent to the union. Gaining this consent and perfecting the arrangements is a delicate undertaking, for nothing is more humiliating than a refusal when matters have gone this far. A suitor who is an older man, who is without close relatives, or who is independent of them may plead his own cause. A man may also speak for himself if he is courting a divorced woman. But making the request is considered a most unwelcome task, and the matter is usually intrusted to a go-between: "There is always someone who goes to the girl's relatives and tells of a man's good points. This is not a profession. They find someone who is interested in the boy and is willing to go to the parents of the girl. It can be a man or woman who does this."

Occasionally, it is the boy's father who acts in this capacity. "The boy's father will go to the girl's father and say, 'I have a

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• 584 boy who likes your girl.' He tells what the presents will be." The degree of formality depends largely on the relations between the two families. Where a kindly understanding has been established the boy's father feels least hesitant about assuming the initiative himself. But more frequently someone other than the parent is found for this duty:

[465] The father does not always go to the girl's family. Another relative or friend will go, or the family may hire a man who is somewhat of a public figure and will know just what to do. The go-between is paid if the marriage goes through. He is given something valuable, like a buckskin or a horse, because what he has done is a very unpleasant task to the Chiricahua mind. Something holds a man back from this. I can't describe it.

A young man may have less trouble gaining the good will of his future parents-in-law than in finding a suitable spokesman to act for him:

So I said, "You're my uncle and I plead with you to get me fixed up. It's your duty." We talked back and forth like this for a few days. I told him it was very important to me. But he took it easy. He'd just smile and light a cigarette when I'd ask him. I felt like throwing something at him. After he lit his cigarette he'd make himself more comfortable. He just gave lots of excuses. He wouldn't do it.

It was bashfulness on his part that held him back. S. (the girl's father) is a pretty important man and hard to handle, and that held him back. Besides he didn't know how to talk along this line. You have to be pretty experienced. If you are refused you have to take it gracefully. You have to know how. There are lots of things that hold a man back. It's not just going up to a man and saying, "This boy wants to marry your daughter. What do you say, yes or no?" Sometimes a go-between has to get drunk to get courage up to speak.

The go-between must be prepared to cope with embarrassing situations such as this:

When D. started to go in there, the mother said, "Here's an old man who never comes to visit us. What's up?" She thought there was something wrong. D. said, "I have come over here to speak to you."

"What do you want to speak to us about?"

"I want to speak for your daughter."

Right away the old man, the father, said, "No, nothing doing!"

The old lady told him, "Keep still! You've got nothing to say. We are poor people, and everybody dislikes you. You need some good man to defend you, to keep flies off you. If there is any good man coming—I don't know who he is—but if it's a good man, he will be a big help to me. But you begin talking against him right away!"

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D. said, "I am going to give you valuable property. That man will give you horses. But the way you start off is not right." 584 [583]

The old lady asked, "Who is this man?"

He's standing out there. He's my nephew. I love him. He's a good man for you. . . ."

If the go-between is a relative of the suitor and a friend of the girl's family, he meets opposition by injecting a personal note that is hard to resist: "Sometimes the go-between would say, 'I want your daughter to marry this boy. He is my relative. From now on we will live as relatives.' "

It is an advantage "to get an influential person to talk for you." While the go-between is simply an agent, he takes his task seriously and believes his success is a measure of his persuasiveness. Should he be ungraciously received, he is likely to feel personal resentment. Consequently, it is more difficult for the average family to return a negative reply to a "public figure" than to an ordinary man. Forceful conversationalists are likewise in demand for this office. Sometimes a person gains a reputation in this field and may be asked to perform this service a number of times, but it is denied that there are any "professional go-betweens." Even affinal relatives may act for a young man: "I talked to my sister-in-law about a wife. I told her to ask a certain person for a wife for me. It took a long time." 584 554 [602]

A humorous story, illustrating the kind of temperament eminently suited for the task, is told of a man who has acted as go-between by request on a number of occasions and at least once without specific instructions: 584 156

J. got married through L. L. was always the life of the party. He was witty and loud spoken. He was a widower and J. was living with him. He was related to J. in some way. J. had been going with E.'s daughter for a long time. He intended to marry her anyway, but he had not done anything yet about it. Then L. was invited to a tiswin party at E.'s place. He got feeling good. J. and the girl were not there. While he was feeling good he got talking with Mrs. E. He said, "Now how about letting my relative marry your daughter?" Mrs. E. said, "That's fine!"

The next day L. woke up. He was the way people are after a party. "Oh, J.," he said, "now you are in for it!"

"What's the matter with you? You must feel pretty bad after that party," J. said.

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584 156 "Well, J.," L. said, "you've been going around with that girl and now I guess you can go with her for the rest of your life. Yesterday I acted as a go-between for you and fixed it up for you to marry her. So we'll have to clean you up, and you'll have to leave me and set up your own home."

J. couldn't believe it was true, but the man had done it. And Mrs. E. had taken it seriously. But J. was glad anyway. He married the girl shortly after that. I sure joke with J.'s wife about this! I tell her that if L. hadn't got drunk, she never would have been married.

584 Usually the go-between leaves the young man behind to await the outcome of the negotiations and performs his work without the suitor's co-operation:

I went to K. He agreed to do it. I was to stay at his place and wait for him while he went out and talked to her father. He promised that he would hurry back as soon as he could. He was all dressed up in his best clothes.

I was pretty nervous while he was gone. I thought of the possibility that I would be turned down. I made up my mind that if I was turned down I would get out of that place just as fast and as quietly as possible.

By and by I saw K. coming. He was taking his time instead of hurrying. "Well! What did he say?" I asked him. "Prepare yourself for bad news," he told me. But I could see he was joking. He fooled around with me for a few minutes before he told me everything was all right. He told me then that the girl's father had agreed right away.

But when there is some uncertainty about gaining consent and the young man's personal assurances of good faith may be required in order to secure a favorable reply, the suitor accompanies the go-between and remains near by. Whenever possible the actual face-to-face encounter of a man and his potential parents-in-law is avoided, because, should consent be given, he finds himself standing in the presence of those whom he should not see.

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When I went with D., who acted as go-between for me, I stopped at the door. I was not going in there. I would have a better chance if I stayed outside. D. told me, "Stay outside so that you will have more chance; for if you marry this girl, you will have to hide from her mother." J. [a rejected suitor for the hand of the same girl] had come right in with his go-between and made a fool of himself.

I stayed near by so that if they should say, "Well, let's hear from this man," I'd be there and could speak from where I was. I couldn't run right in there and show no respect. So I was standing near the door.

On request, however, the young man has to appear before the kin group of the girl he hopes to marry:

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Suppose I want to marry a certain girl. A relative of mine goes over to her folks and speaks to them about it. They might say, "Send that boy over here."

I go over there. They tell me to sit outside, perhaps, and they talk to me from the inside of their camp. Or they might tell me to come in. I go in. They ask me what I intend to do. I give them a good talk, telling them that I will work for them, stay with them, bring in something to each one of them, and give so many horses to them too. Then, if they agree, one of the old ladies, a relative of the girl I am going to marry, may put a blanket over her head and walk out, saying, "I'm going to hide from this man." The father and mother do that too. They have to[i.e., practice avoidance]. There is no choice for them. The close relatives of my wife are all there and show what they intend to do. Those who are not there send word to me about hiding or speaking polite. Then I act that way toward them.

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The presentation of gifts is a convention that is seldom violated. "A man must give a present to his wife's relatives or be disgraced; the woman is disgraced too if this is not done." It is expected that a chaste and dutiful girl will attract valuable gifts, and, in the words of an informant, "it's not much use asking for a woman in marriage if you can't give a present." It is one of the duties of the go-between to mention the gifts and to satisfy the girl's relatives that they will be adequate: "Whoever goes as go-between for the young man says, 'I want to ask you for your daughter. I'll give you so many horses, so many buckskins,' and he mentions whatever else he has been told to offer."

If an understanding between the families has been reached in advance and the visit of the go-between is merely a formality, he may take the presents with him and leave them as soon as consent is granted. More commonly, he returns later to deliver what has been promised. Therefore, the marriage gift is called "a burden has been brought." If the arrangement entails the giving of horses only, the prospective groom may simply turn them out to graze with those of his future parents-in-law.

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There are no definite limits to the number of presents that may be promised, and the size of the gift has little bearing on the status of the principals:

The woman's status is not affected by the amount of the present. The man who gives a great deal is just thought of as a man who is able to give a great deal. It's considered all right, but he can't raise his position that way. About four or five horses with saddles would be a very big present. A horse or two would be normal and average.

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601 192 224 606 for his parents-in-law. The word implies to me that the man's business is to hunt in this fashion for me if I am the father-in-law. It is his obligation to do so forever.

601 602 192 [606] It is not alone the father-in-law who calls a son-in-law "one who carries burdens for me." Every relative of the wife, no matter how remotely connected, is entitled to so address or refer to the husband. And the term with which he reciprocates is simply another form of the same verb which means "one for whom I carry burdens."

584 602 606 From the moment that consent to the marriage has been given, a relationship of total avoidance is established between the husband and certain of his wife's relatives. With these persons, avoidance is the unalterable rule and no choice is permitted. "Even if your wife's parents don't approve of the marriage, they have to be ashamed [practice avoidance] anyway." These obligatory avoidance affinities are: the wife's mother, her father, her mother's mother, and her father's mother. Thus, when the young man comes to his new home, there are at least three affinal relatives living close by (providing they are still alive) upon whom he may not look, and who may not see him. Even at the marriage feast this rule of avoidance must be respected. Avoidance makes necessary certain precautions in the arrangement of homes and obviates the possibility of a common meal for the larger relationship group, even though its members share the same larder.

606 602 [591] [585] 606 591 264 596 602 [361] A man lives near his in-laws and brings what he gets on the hunt back to them, all of it. His food is prepared there at his mother-in-law's place anyway. The camp of the young people is so arranged that the place of the parents-in-law cannot be seen; it might be behind some brush with the door facing the other way. The wife eats with her husband, though the food is usually prepared at her mother's home.

593 264 606 [196] The bringing of food to the husband by the wife is termed "she sets something in a container before him":

This means the act of the wife in bringing to her husband food that has been prepared by her mother. The word is now jokingly used to lazy men in the sense of, "You want things pretty easy, don't you? You want things brought on a silver platter to you."

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754 "These people hate their own children; they hate their close relatives."

[578] But in most instances of alleged sorcery, the motive of the witch is narrowed down to some quarrel or thwarted design:

> One man suspects M. of being a witch. His wife used to be good friends with her. She used to be over at M.'s all the time. Then she died, just after those two women had a falling-out of some sort. That's the way they work. You have hot words with a person. Then you die from some little accident. The person is under suspicion after that.

The greed of the sorcerer and the danger of denying him his desires is a recurring theme:

> If you suspect you are witched, you must think over everybody that you have refused anything to or to whom you have not freely given something he admired. Perhaps someone said to you, "What a nice Navaho rug!" But you didn't give
[511] it to him. He witched you. That's why Indians don't plan to live nicely and have good things around. They'd only be running into danger from witches.

[584] Rejected marriage suits may stir the malice of witches. "A young woman might die. They would say that a man who had been refused by her before her marriage had done this to her because he couldn't have her himself."

There is no personal misfortune, no public disaster, that may
[833] not ultimately be construed as the work of a witch. Impotence is sometimes attributed to sorcery, and witches are accused of interfering with domestic tranquillity:

> When I married, I lived near my wife's parents. A year later my wife had a baby and it died. About two months later she began to act as if she wasn't the same person at all. She was mean, and there was trouble all the time. I came away and lived down here, but my mother-in-law liked me and knew that I was
[755] trying to do the right thing. My wife had been witched. They took her to a shaman, and he saw what the matter was and cured her. About a month after she was cured I went back to her. She was just like her old self again.

[845] Of difficult childbirth, it was said: "When a woman is having a hard time in labor, if her husband finds out for sure that a witch is responsible, he will go out and kill him."

75 At the other end of the scale is widespread sickness:
535

> There has been much sickness around here, a lot of pneumonia. So last week my father painted masked dancers to find out what it was from and how it was

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

586 of the wife and her relatives. Wealth may even decide the issue;
[556] where the relatives of the wife are poor and the man and his kin have greater resources, the husband may take a child with him at the dissolution of the marriage.

[589] The divorced man returns to his parental home or stays with
[587] some close relative. Unless he is well along in years, he soon marries again.

589 The chief loser in a divorce action is the woman. For at least
587 part of her sustenance she is now once more dependent on her
[602] own relatives, who, too, have lost economic assistance. Because she is now an experienced woman with a record of marital difficulties, it is unlikely that a new husband will offer presents to her parents. Should she fail to be married again soon, her reputation
[578] suffers. The word meaning "single woman who has been married before" (divorcée, widow) has an unsavory connotation. "This word would only be used to a single woman who was married before, and never to one who is single in the sense that she has
[558] not married at all yet. The word is more or less of an insult, and a person would not use it to a woman whom he respects."

589 Because unmarried girls are carefully guarded, the promiscuous women are usually divorcées and widows who have failed to remarry. From them the community and their kin do not exact the same high standards of conduct demanded of the unmarried
[574] girls: "At a drinking party there might be a young divorced woman, but it is very unlikely that any unmarried girl would
[848] attend. Young men attend though." Divorced women are thought more likely to have illegitimate children than the unmarried: "After a first marriage a woman might have children out of wedlock, but that kind of woman is not liked."

587 Marriage can be more easily contracted with a divorced
583 woman than with a maiden. The waiving of marriage gifts has already been noted. Less pressure upon relatives and less per-
[584] suasiveness are required in arranging such a match. The celebration of a military victory or the social dance of a puberty rite may even be the occasion for a very informal union with a divorced woman:

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
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534 For musical instruments these Apache used the drum, the animal-hoof rattle, the musical bow, the flageolet, and a curious one-stringed fiddle made from the flowering stalk of sotol which may be of Spanish origin. In their peyote rite [276] [796] the Mescaleros accompanied their songs with the gourd rattle.

411 In addition to the shield and the bow and arrow, which have already been mentioned, the Mescalero and Chiricahua fought with spears, slings, flint knives, and war clubs of a number of types. Quivers, bow covers, and wrist-guards were other material items belonging to the war complex.

433 That these people made cradle-boards, fire drills, parfleches, skin tipis, and cloths and blankets of buckskin and animal hides has already been indicated. Water transportation was solved by the construction of a crude bull-boat or raft-like structure.

501

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

596 The tribe, band, and local group have already been described. The remaining social segment is the extended domestic family, which acted as the basic economic unit. Such an extended family would be housed in a cluster of individual dwellings and would ideally consist in an older married couple, their unmarried children, their married daughters, the sons-in-law, and the issue of these. As can be inferred from this, residence was matrilocal. All the cooking [591] for the members of this family group was carried on at one [252] place by the mother and her daughters, and the latter sub- [606] sequently took portions of the prepared food to their husbands and children, for a mother-in-law—son-in-law avoid- [476] ance was in effect. Whenever there was work to be done which involved the labor of more than one person, the men or women of this extended family, according to the nature of the task, assisted each other in its execution.

584 Marriage was arranged between the older kin of the man and woman involved, usually at the instigation of the young man, who, with the approval of his own relatives,

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
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would ask a kinsman to act as intermediary for him in seeking the girl's hand. This "go-between" would visit the girl's parents' encampment, offer presents, and seek to make the necessary arrangements. If the girl's relatives approved the offer, the girl and her mother erected a dwelling in the vicinity of the parental home, and the union was recognized as soon as the boy took up residence with his new wife. Sororal polygyny was permitted, and the young man, if he proved a successful hunter and good provider, was encouraged to marry the younger sisters of his wife as they matured. Both the sororate and the levirate were practiced. A man could be forced to marry a sister or female cousin of his dead wife, and the woman could not refuse her dead husband's brother or male cousin if he wished to marry her. At marriage the Apache man was obliged to observe an unusually large number of avoidances and special forms of speech in respect to his affinities. Among others, the Mescalero man avoids his mother-in-law, her mother, her mother's sisters, and her sisters. In addition to avoiding his wife's female relatives, the Chiricahua man is called upon to avoid his father-in-law and may be requested to avoid other of his wife's male relatives. More distant relatives of the wife might request a special form of address known as "polite form" instead of avoidance. Where a choice is possible and avoidance is requested of a man by the affinity, it signifies great love for the girl through whom the relationship has been established and approval of the match.

The Apache man who enters the extended family through marriage is expected to work unremittingly for his in-laws. All the game that he kills in the hunt is brought to his wife who carries it to her mother's home for utilization and distribution. Whatever parents-in-law command or suggest, a son-in-law is expected to perform.[3]

3. For the details of the Mescalero and Chiricahua kinship systems see Opler (21).